

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

b6  
b7c

REPORTING OFFICE <b>WASHINGTON FIELD</b>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <b>BUREAU</b>	DATE <b>1/23/62</b>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <b>1/19 - 23/62</b>
TITLE OF CASE <b>JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN</b>		REPORT MADE BY <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 20px;"></div>	TYPED BY <b>kjl</b>
CHARACTER OF CASE  <b>SPI</b> ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 08-21-2009 BY 60322 UELP/PLJ/JN			

REFERENCE

WFO pending reported dated 1/19/62.

-P-

ENCLOSURES

Three copies of the pamphlet entitled "The National Defense" by JOHN FRANKLIN, published by the American League against War and Facism.

LEADSWASHINGTON FIELD OFFICEAT WASHINGTON, D.C.

Will report the results of the checks regarding the appointee at CIA, State Security, and State Passport.

APPROVED <i>huf jms</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE: 1-Bureau (Encls. 3) 1-Washington Field (161-1496) <i>2/9/62</i> <i>2 of 3 enclosures destroyed</i>		<b>161-1819-32</b>	<b>REC-14</b>
DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT		NOT RECORDED 12 APR 10 1962	
AGENCY	REQUEST RECD.	NOTATIONS <i>gfb</i>	
DATE FWD.	HOW FWD.		
BY			

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATIONALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 08-21-2009 BY 60322 UCLP/PLJ/JNb6  
b7c

Copy to:

Report of:  
Date:

1/23/62

Office: Washington, D.C.

Field Office File No.: 160-1496

Bureau File No.:

Title: JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN

Character: SPECIAL INQUIRY

Synopsis: Information from the "Daily Worker," "Worker," and  
"The Workers Library" set forth.

-P-

DETAILS AT WASHINGTON, D.C.MISCELLANEOUSThe appointee's name mentioned in the following  
publications and articles."The Daily Worker, New York, Friday, August 8,  
1952, page 7.""The "Daily Worker" is an East coast Communist Party  
(CP) newspaper had ceased operation on January 13, 1958.

"HERBERT APTHEKER'S 'Documentary History of the  
Negro People in the United States (Citadel, \$7.50) has won  
high praise from the five outstanding Negro scholars in the  
field of American Negro history: Dr. W. E. B. DUBOIS; Dr. A.  
A. TAYLOR, professor of history and dean at Fisk University  
in Nashville, Tenn.; Dr. JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN, professor of history  
at Howard University, Washington; Dr. L. D. REDDICK, chief  
librarian of Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.; and Mr. J. A.  
ROGERS, distinguished author and columnist for the Pittsburgh  
Courier.

"Here are extracts from their reviews:

"Dr. DuBOIS (who wrote the volume's preface): "All  
libraries, all families with reasonable income, and all schools

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and  
its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

should have this book.....A milestone on the road to truth  
..... A dream come true." (National Guardian, Jan. 2, 1952).

"Dean A. A. TAYLOR: "The documents in this volume, drawn from such sources as books, pamphlets, periodicals, newspapers, official documents, letters, and other manuscripts, have been selected admirably. The introduction, in which the editor defines the scope of the book, and his explanatory comments and notes made in connection with the documents greatly enhance the value of the work... The student and many of the general public should find it exceptionally useful."

"Professor JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN: "APTHEKER's most significant contribution to date. He has literally scoured the country for documents written by Negroes themselves, and the compilation of these materials into a documentary history of the Negro people is a contribution of unique and far-reaching importance....Mr. APTHEKER's labors have placed all students of the history of the Negro people under obligation to him. His painstaking and exhaustive work will provide a veritable mine of information for persons interested in pursuing further the history of Negroes...We have in this book the sole source book of the political, social, and economic aspirations of the American Negro." (The Journal of Negro Education, Spring, 1952).

Dr. L. D. REDDICK: "APTHEKER has done a splendid job!....It fills a wide gap. It is accurate and authentic. It should find a place in all libraries that have holdings on the history of the U.S. Teachers in the social studies--especially history--should keep it within arms' reach. And the general reader will find it fascinating..."(Phylon, Summer, 1952).

"Mr. J. R. ROGERS: "Dr. HERBERT APTHEKER, that indefatigable researcher, has rendered an immense service, not only to Negro history, but to documentation in a generally neglected phase of American life....very effective...monumental." (Pittsburgh Courier, March 15, 1952.)

"The Peoples Daily World", Tuesday, August 12, 1952, page 7."

"The Peoples Daily World", the official organ of the CP on the west coast.

"HERBERT APTHEKER's 'Documentary History of the Negro People in the U.S.' (Citadel, \$7.50) has won high praise from the five outstanding Negro scholars in the field of American Negro history: Dr. W. E. B. DuBOIS; Dr. A. A. TAYLOR, professor of history and dean at Fisk University in Nashville, Tenn.; Dr. JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN, professor of history at Howard University, Washington; Dr. L. D. REDDICK, chief librarian of Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.; and Mr. JA. ROGERS, distinguished

WFO 161-1496

author and columnist for the 'The Pittsburgh Courier.'

"Here are extracts from their reviews:

"Dr. DUBOIS (who wrote the volume's preface):  
'All libraries, all families with reasonable income, and all schools should have this book... A milestone on the road to truth... A dream come true.' (National Guardian, Jan. 2, 1952).

"Dean A. A. TAYLOR: 'The documents in this volume, drawn from such sources as books, pamphlets, periodicals, newspapers, official documents, letters, and other manuscripts, have been selected admirably. The introduction in which the editor defines the scope of the book, and his explanatory comments and notes made in connection with documents greatly enhance the value of the work.. The students and many of the general public should find it exceptionally useful.'

"Professor JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN: 'APTHEKER's most significant contribution to date. He has literally scoured the country for documents written by Negroes themselves, and the compilation of these materials into a documentary history of the Negro people is a contribution of unique and far-reaching importance..Mr. APTHEKER's labors have placed all students of the history of the Negro people under obligation to him. His painstaking and exhaustive work will provide a veritable mine of information for persons interested in pursuing further this history of Negroes...We have in this book the sole source book of the political, social, and economic aspirations of the American Negro.' (The Journal of Negro Education, Spring, 1952.)

"Dr. L. D. REDDICK: 'APTHEKER has done a splendid job!...It fills a wide gap, It is accurate and authentic. It should find a place in all libraries that have holdings on the history of the U.S. Teachers in the social studies--especially history--should keep it within arms' reach. And the general reader will find it fascinating.....' (Phylon, Summer, 1952.)

"Mr. J. A. ROGERS: 'Dr. HERBERT APTHEKER, that indefatigable researcher, has rendered an immense service, not only to Negro history, but to documentation in a generally neglected phase of American life...very effective...monumental.' (Pittsburgh Courier, March 15, 1952.)

"The Daily Worker, New York, Wednesday, December 23, 1953, page 8."

"The current issue of the Baltimore Afro-American, Negro weekly, editorially castigates the hanging of General ROBERT E. LEE's portrait in the White House. Excerpts from the editorial follows:

'JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN, Howard University professor of history, had a point when he commented on the hanging of ROBERT E. LEE's portrait in the White House recently. As Dr. FRANKLIN pointed out, no one ever worked with greater zeal and no one came closer to overthrowing the U.S. Government by force and violence than the Confederate general.

'No one will deny that the rebel leader sincerely believed in the cause for which he fought. Similarly, the majority of our current subversives are undoubtedly sincere about the views they hold.....'LEE's bewhiskered portrait ...is certainly odd company for such all-American patriot as GEORGE WASHINGTON, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, and ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

'Let the United Daughters of the Confederacy venerate their traitorous dead as they will, but let them not impose-- however symbolically--their slavery heroes upon the rest of the nation."

"The Worker", Sunday, March 7, 1954, page 12."

"The Worker", an east coast CP publication, published twice a month in New York City.

"There is not an institution in the American capitalist 'free enterprise system' which is not discolored by the fact that it was born in African blood, educated on cultivated lies of 'race,' and grew to senility in the smug atmosphere created by the crooked mirrors of 'social Darwinism.'

"WILLIAM Z. FOSTER's 'The Negro People in American History' documents in detail the above assertion, tracing the development of the Negro people in America from the first slave ships to the present. Objective history, FOSTER writes, exposes the fact that 'the worst of all crimes of expanding capitalism in this country has been the centuries-long outrage it has perpetrated, and continues to perpetrate, against the Negro people.'

"Capitalist historians have used tons of paper and ink to hide this side of the history of capitalism, to justify



its aggressive racism with contention that Negro (and the white workers) represented unsuccessful 'types' in capitalist society.

"Written in a fighting, polemical style, FOSTER's book attacks the mountain of lies which have been used to buttress the racist system: Negroes did not submit meekly to slavery; ignorance and corruption was not responsible for the overthrow of the Reconstruction governments in the South; freedom was not given to the Negroes by a benevolent LINCOLN. Negroes were shoved back into their present status by the same class, using the same armed terror which had been used to snatch 60,000,000 Africans from their tribal homes and convert them into whip-driven slaves

"If slavery was necessary for the primitive accumulation of capital then the freedom of the Negro slaves was necessary for the further expansion of capitalism. And when that expansion was threatened, by the militant actions of labor, freed by the Civil War, the capitalists turned on the Negroes to prevent a possible unity of the workers' and Negro people's struggles. The sell-out of the Negro people in 1877, FOSTER shows, citing PARRINGTON, was occasioned by the fact that 'an ambitious industrialism stood on the threshold of a continental expansion that was to transfer sovereignty in America from a landed and mercantile aristocracy to the capable hands of a new race of captains of industry.'

"After pouncing upon and conquering anew the Negro people, the 'new race of captains of industry' in a little more than 20 years extended their conquests to the Caribbean and the Pacific. To the Negroes were added Cubans, Puerto Ricans, Hawaiians, Filipinos and others as sources of cheap labor and as markets. New providers of super-profits to the helmsmen of the 'American way of life' were added.

"From the capitalist point of view this move which pushed the clock back near to chattel slavery was immensely profitable. Plantations became alive again with new masters recruited from among the young city capitalists of the South. Labor and the Negroes were split; the dream of the Negro labor leader, ISAAC MYERS, who had pleaded for Negro and white labor unity in 1867, is only now being partially realized. But most of all is the more than four billion dollars which the capitalists yearly sweat out of the Negro workers because of the jimcrow system.

"One of the most important sections of FOSTER's book deals with the present status of the Negro people, their status

as an oppressed nation in the Black Belt; the ideological struggle against white chauvinism; the limited slogan of 'integration' advanced by the Negro middle class leaders as against the Marxist slogan of Negro liberation. This section cannot be understood disconnected from the history of the Negro people, for the national question is a historical question. And only a working class leader, a master of the Marxian theory of history which holds that history is a force for the solution of problems confronting the working class, could have written this volume.

"There are other histories of the Negro people, notably those by Dr. E. FRANKLYN FRAZIER, Dr. JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN, CARTER WOODSON. There are the valuable studies of Dr. W. E. B. DUBOIS, 'The Negro in the Civil War' by BENJAMIN QUARLES and the pioneering works of HERBERT APTHEKER, the Marxist historian. FOSTER pays tribute to all of them. But FOSTER's book has drawn together in one volume the whole panoramic picture from life in Africa to the sidewalks of American city ghettos. And he has done so from the point of view of the working class and the Negro people. It is a story that is as bloody and brutal as capitalism is; as heroic as the fighters against slavery and degradation; as moving as any story is about people fighting for dignity and manhood. But above all it is a story that points the way ahead; holding a lamp along Freedom Road."

"The Daily Worker, New York, Friday, October 12, 1956, page 6"

"The Prussian military tradition, with its officers' societies, its duels and ritual sabre scars, played a part in German imperialist adventures that has been generally acknowledged by historians.

"It is the thesis of 'The Militant South,' by Professor JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN, that a similar vein of violence ran through pre-Civil War Southern society, a tradition that helped assure that it would be force, and force alone, which settled the dispute that rent the nation. The South, as the author pictures it, was a frontier society; towns were only infrequent interruptions of endless forest. Sovereignty was in the hands of planter aristocracy as it had been in the hands of the old world's feudal barons. Law was at a minimum idleness at a peak in a society with a gentry to whom labor was synonymous with slavery, and in which cultural diversifications were limited. Military schools were the favored institutions of learning. Overseers and slave-owners went armed to meet real or fancied threats of slave revolts. Indian 'outrages,' the familiar excuse for excursions against the tribes, were regularly proclaimed and followed by Indian wars in the Southern states. Duels were an accepted, to some even a hallowed feature of Southern life, settling the disputes of the gentry.

WFO 161-1496

"American territorial expansion, notably at the expense of Mexico, was directly linked to the slaveowners' ambitions to extend the area of slavery and to break out of the containment attempted by the foes of slavery. Professor FRANKLIN describes in detail expansionist adventures directed at Nicaragua and Cuba as well, in which the South was deeply involved. (Of course, expansion was not exclusively the dream of the South; New England industrialists eyed Canada greedily from the birth of the Nation.)

"The glorification of war, the exaltation of the martial spirit in the South during the decades before the Civil War, Professor FRANKLIN tells us, 'greatly facilitated the drift toward war in 1861.

"'The Militant South' is of primary interest, of course, for the light it sheds on past events and for its implied refutation of the view, now popular in circles busily revising American history with a pro-Southern bias, that the Civil War would have been avoided had Northern anti-slavery extremists been less intransigent.

"As for its implications for today, surely newspaper readers of the current accounts of rioting segregationists as well as students of the South's three-quarters of a century record of lynching need hardly be told that the vein of violence runs deep,

"But other bellicose groups have been tamed by history and, while die-hard segregationists may yet react with greater violence to the progress of integration than the South has yet seen, it does not now seem likely that they can successfully revive that earlier tradition which JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN has effectively described."

"The Daily Worker, New York City, Thursday, October 15, 1956, page 7"

"JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN, formerly of Howard University, is now chairman of the department of history at Brooklyn College.

"In his latest volume, Professor FRANKLIN presents a study of the militarism of the pre-Civil War South; a characteristic which attracted contemporaneous attention, and some comment from later students. But this book is the first full-length examination of the subject.



"The work is especially strong in documenting the prolonged planning for armed counter-rebellion that went on among the Southern rulers, and in bringing together evidence of the corroding effect upon morality which the institution of slavery had. Its descriptive passages on the impact of militarism upon the culture and education of the South are illuminating and derive out of a careful study of scantily-used source material.

"In getting at the roots of the militarism and violence so peculiar to the South, Professor FRANKLIN is not as full nor as satisfactory as in his descriptive matter.

While bringing forward the decisive influence of slavery in this connection, Professor FRANKLIN tends to ignore or, at times, to deny the reality of class struggle dividing white from in the Old South. Actually such division was very sharp and its eruption into violence, especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was frequent and serious. Slaveholders worried about the non-slaveholding whites only slightly less than they did about their slaves, and the bitterness of this class division actually sharpened as the Civil-War years approached. I suggest that this conflict had much to do with the hair-trigger temper of the Bourbons and with their military-mindedness.

"Be this as it may, Professor FRANKLIN has provided a keen insight into and a copious description of a very important aspect of Southern history. His work joins at once the ten or twelve really significant historical studies of that region which so far have been produced."

"The Worker", Sunday, March 9, 1958, page 3."

"An overflow crowd of more than 1,000 persons celebrated the ninetieth birthday of Dr. W. E. B. DUBOIS, historian, sociologist and novelist, in the Roosevelt Hotel last Sunday. The crowd filled the grand ballroom, its balconies and two side rooms.

"Speakers included TRUMAN NELSON, author of 'The Sins of the Prophet' and other historical novels; former Judge HUBERT T. DELANEY; Dr. JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN, head of the Department of History, Brooklyn College, and Dr. DUBOIS.

"Greetings from a large number of celebrities and from groups of Dr. DUBOIS' admirers in Little Rock, Ark.,

WFO 161-1496

Durham, N.C., and other towns West and South were read.

"Premier NNANDI AZIKIWE of Eastern Nigeria wrote saying 'Your life has been an inspiration to us who are now in the vanguard of the great struggle for freedom in Africa.' HEWLETT JOHNSON, the Dean of Canterbury, in his message said DUBOIS was an inspiration to younger men like himself--mentioning his own age as 84 years.

"Other greetings were received, said Mrs. ESLANDE ROBESON, chairman, from Abe Stark, president of the New York City Council; S. J. WRIGHT, president of Fisk University, Dr. DUBOIS' alma mater; V. V. KUZNETSOV, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister; KUO MO-JO, president of the Academia Sinica of China; Premier CHEDDI JAGAN of British Guiana, and FREDERICK JOLIOT-CURIE, Nobel prizewinner and a pioneer in early radiation discoveries."

"The Daily Worker, New York, Tuesday, January 1, 1957, page 7".

"Editor, Feature Section

"Regarding your columns of cultural highlights of the past year, may I point out that in the area of American history writing, 1956 witnessed an increasing resistance to the new conservatism so powerful during McCARTHY's heyday. The books of American professors most of them published by university presses showed a heightened concern for civil liberties and civil rights and intensified rejection of chauvinist concepts, and a notable effort to grapple with exceedingly controversial issues. Among those who produced particularly significant works, to name but a dozen, were WILLIAM A. WILLIAMS, MERRILL JANSEN, ROBERT E. BROWN, HOWARD K. BEALE, SIDNEY FINE, JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN, ROBERT MACIVER, C. VANN WOODWARD, ARLIN TURNER, GORDON MILNE, KENNETH STAMPP and RAYFORD W. LOGAN. A listing of a different dozen could easily be offered. On the whole 1956 was definitely a year in which a rejection of reactionary and obscurantist thinking appeared from American historians."

"The Daily Worker, New York, Thursday, January 7, 1937, page 8."

"Lecture by JOHN FRANKLIN on 'Program Against War and Fascism.' Dancing and refreshments. Adm. 25c. Ausp.: A.W.F. Madison Square Branch, 4 W. 18th St., 8 p.m."

*Can't identify with Dr. JHF*

"The National Guardian, The Progressive News Weekly, Volume 10, Number 22, New York, March 10, 1958, page 4."

"On March 2, the Grand Ballroom of New York's Roosevelt Hotel was filled to overflowing with more than 1,000 guests at the 90th birthday party of Dr. W. E. B. DUBOIS. Friends who hadn't seen each other for five or ten years exchanged excited greetings. There were familiar faces from Jersey, Philadelphia, Wilmington, Baltimore, and Washington, D.C. The greetings came from all parts of the world. One observer said: 'It takes Dr. DUBOIS to bring out the best in us.'

"Author TRUMAN NELSON paid glowing tribute to 'this Country's First Citizen.' Dr. JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN, head of the Brooklyn College History Dept., acknowledged the debt he and others scholars owe to Dr. DUBOIS. He announced that, in partial fulfillment of their obligation, the DUBOIS Lectures are being established at Fisk University. Former N.Y. Domestic Relations Court Justice HUBERT T. DELANY presented a handsome, leather-bound book of greetings signed by the guests; and a handsome check to help enable Dr. DUBOIS to continue his work. Mrs. ESLANDA ROBESON, who with ANGUS CAMERON headed the Birthday Committee, presided with great charm.

"Through all of this the youngest of all the guests reclined in his mother's arms. He uttered not a word, but took in the proceedings with more than casual interest. A grand party came to a perfect end as the oldest of the persons present addressed the following words to the youngest:

"The most distinguished guest of this festive occasion is none other than my great-grandson, ARTHUR EDWARD McFARLANE, II, who was born this last Christmas day. He has kindly consented to permit me to read to you a bit of advice which, as he remarked with a sigh of resignation, great-grandparents are supposed usually to inflict on the helpless young. This then is my word of advice.

"As men go, I have had a reasonably happy and successful life. I have had enough to eat and drink, have been suitably clothed and, as you see, have had many friends. But the thing which has been the secret of whatever I have done is the fact that I have been able to earn a living by doing the work which I wanted to do and that work was what the world needed done.

"I want to stress this. You will soon learn, my dear young man, that most human beings spend their lives doing work which they hate and work which the world does not need. It is therefore of prime importance that you early learn what you want to do; how you are fit to do it, and whether or not the world needs this service.

"Here, in the next 20 years, your parents can be of use to you. You will soon begin to wonder just what parents are for besides interfering with your natural wishes. Let me therefore tell you; parents and their parents are inflicted upon you in order to show what kind of person you are, what sort of world you live in and what the persons who dwell here need for their happiness and well-being.

"It was my unusual good fortune in the first 25 years of my life to learn by effort and hard competition just what I could do; then to get a fairly good idea of what the world was in which I must work. In these years I had seen the United States, North and South; I had lived in England, France, Germany, and Italy; I had listened to the advice of some of the world's greatest minds and I had heard from the lips of human beings just what their problems were. Beside this, I had seen the Atlantic Ocean, the high Alps at Berne, the Venus of Milo and the Sistine Madonna.

"Then I came home prepared to work. It was then, in the summer of 1892, 66 years ago, that I made a quite unconscious choice: I chose to begin my life work for the pleasure of doing it and the need of its being done and not for the money I was going to be paid for doing it. This was no great and advertised occasion; I asked no advice and none was pre-offered. I chose without hesitancy or question.

"It was in this wise: after borrowing money to pay for postage stamps, I wrote the nation and offered my services. The response was slow and unenthusiastic. But at last three offers came. Wilberforce, a Negro college in Ohio, offered me \$750 a year as a teacher. A state school in Missouri offered me \$1,050.

"I went to Wilberforce not because of any martyr complex but because I knew something about Wilberforce. I knew that in 1787, when this nation was declaring all men equal, two black men were on their knees praying to God in the fashionable church of St. George's in Philadelphia. While St. George's was glad to see Negroes practice the true religion, they did not like them to clutter up the aisles of this church and to assail God with such vehemence. Two deacons therefore approached these

black men and whispered gently that it would be more seemly if they would finish their prayers in the balcony. The balcony was much nearer heaven than the main floor.

"But these Negroes were stubborn. They said, 'No, we are going to finish our prayers right here and now. Then we are going to get up and leave this church and we are never coming back.' So one of these men, RICHARD ALLEN, left the white Methodist church and founded the African Methodist Episcopal church which today is one of the largest Negro organizations in the world.

"And one of ALLEN's successors, Bishop DANIEL PAYNE, brought a site in Southern Ohio and founded a college called Wilberforce. And Wilberforce in 1892 offered me a job teaching which I hastened to accept because at Wilberforce I planned to develop a university like the University of Berlin for the uplift of the Negro race in America.

"Quite incidentally, Wilberforce offered me enough to live during this work. The fact that the Missouri state school offered me \$300 more seemed to me of no importance.

"Right here my esteemed great-grandson, may I ask you to stick a pin. You will find it the fashion in the America where eventually you will live and work to judge that life's work by the amount of money it brings you. This is a grave mistake.

"The return from your work must be the satisfaction which that work brings you and the world's need of that work. With this, life is heaven or as near heaven as you can get. Without this--with work which you despise, which bores you and which the world does not need--this life is hell. And believe me, many a \$25,000-a-year executive is living in just such a hell today.

"Income is not greenbacks, it is satisfaction; it is a creation; it is beauty. It is the supreme sense of a world of men going forward, lurch and stagger though it may, but slowly, inevitably going forward, and you, you yourself with your hand on the wheels. Make this choice then, my son. Never hesitate, never falter.

"And now comes the word of warning: the satisfaction with your work even at best will never be complete, since nothing on earth can be perfect. The forward pace of the world which you are pushing will be painfully slow. But what of that: the difference between a hundred and a thousand years is less than



WFO 161-1496

you now think. But doing what must be done, that is eternal even when it walks with poverty.

And I care not to garner while others  
Know only to harvest and reap.  
Formine is the reaping of sowing  
Till the spirit of rest gives me sleep."

"The National Guardian, The Progressive News Weekly, Volume 12, Number 33, New York, May 30, 1960, page 2."

"The Repudiation of the Summit Conference by the Soviet Union on grounds of obvious bad faith has dropped suddenly and squarely into the laps of thinking Americans the vital necessity of insuring as far as possible the selection of a national leadership which will honestly pursue the quest for peace and turn the nation once and for all away from reliance on a militarist economy.

"Overnight, the possibility that the responsibilities of leadership might fall upon either a NIXON or a KENNEDY has taken on the aspects of a nightmare. Yet by default--default not alone of men like STEVENSON and STASSEN as by forces in both parties which might have strengthened such figures in insistence on integrity in international relations--our national political machinery has been allowed to steamroll along a course which would prevent the American people from expressing its determination for peace.

"The Guardian, to the best of its ability in our years on the political scene, has advocated a strong independent third party as the best leverage on the old parties to produce programs and candidates reflecting the people's real concerns. Lacking such an instrument, the people can exert leverage on national policy only through the existing political machinery.

"The crisis resulting from the collapse of the Summit Conference--a collapse clearly engineered by an administration which hoped to keep its design covered up but could not--has now produced conditions making possible the forcing of the peace issue on a reluctant Democratic Party.

"While the JOHNSON-RAYBURN Democratic leadership in Congress called for a policy of 'unity' behind the President in his hour of tribulation (and arraignment before the UN Security Council), the Democratic Advisory Council, which includes STEVENSON, HUMPHREY and TRUMAN but not JOHNSON and RAYBURN, entered a cautious but general demurrer. STEVENSON's

own stand has already gone well beyond the Advisory Council's. His telegram to the overflow Madison Square Garden meeting of the Sane Nuclear Policy Committee (see Page 1) indicated full support for a nuclear test ban and moratorium on underground tests, and for sincere pursuit of disarmament negotiations. Yet his contradictory stand for 'defense' spending is difficult to distinguish from the militarist position.

"In his '52 campaign, STEVENSON spoke of the problem of trying to haul his opponents 'kicking and screaming into the 20th Century.' The task of hauling ADLAI STEVENSON into a stance which can fire the imagination and enthusiasm of the American voter is an equally difficult one.

"Setting the pace for who if not STEVENSON in the mobilization of a challenge to the war policy of the Democratic machine is financier JAMES P. WARBURG. In a letter to the New York Times May 20, WARBURG posed a series of questions such as these:

" 'Who obstructed the test-ban negotiations with a series of technical objections..?

" 'Who, behind the scenes, fought the State Department's efforts to put the U.S. squarely on record as favoring universal disarmament under adequately enforced world law....?

" 'Who ordered the May Dayflight of the U-2?'

As for 'unity' behind the President in the face of such unanswered questions, WARBURG asked: " 'Unity for what? For allowing intrigue, indecision and incompetence to drive us ever nearer to an insane war?'

Following publication of WARBURG's 'Times' letter but actually planned prior to the Summit collapse was the announcement May 23 of an organization called The Liberal Project, along with a statement by WARBURG calling for changes in foreign policy to include recognition of China and disengagement in Europe to permit unification of Germany a 'without outside interference....'

A dozen Congressmen and some 40 scholars, scientists and foreign policy experts are associated with WARBURG in The Liberal Project, although none was asked to concur in WARBURG's statement accompanying announcement of its formation. The Congressmen include ROOSEVELT, KASEM and MILLER, Calif.; PORTER, Ore.; THOMPSON, N.J.; JOHNSON, Colo.; WOLF, Iowa; MOORHEAD, Pa.; O'HARA, Mich.; REUSS and KASTENMEIER, Wis.; and MEYER, Vt. Public figures include VERA M. DEAN, DAVID REISMAN, THURMAN ARNOLD, FRED RODELL, HAROLD TAYLOR, and JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN.

"Information on The Liberal Project may be obtained through WARBURG's office, 34 E. 70th St., N.Y.C."

WFO 161-1496  
HGJF:mro

"The National Guardian, The Progressive News Weekly,  
Volume 12, Number 36, New York, June 20, 1960, Page 5"

"Dr. W.E.B. DUBOIS, often described as the father of Pan-Africanism, said at a press conference June 8 that passports had been reissued to Mrs. DUBOIS (SHIRLEY GRAHAM) and himself. The passports had been picked up six months after the DUBOISes had returned from abroad because they had visited China. The reissued passports mean they will be able to go to Ghana for the inaugural celebration of the New African Republic.

"Dr. DUBOIS said he had interpreted the passport restriction-- 'Not good for travel in China'--as meaning that it was of no use to him there; so he left it behind. As a guest of the Chinese government he didn't need it.

"This time Dr. and Mrs. DUBOIS were requested to sign a statement saying they will not travel in countries with which the United States does not have diplomatic relations.

"The press conference was held in the DUBOIS home in Brooklyn shortly before the June 15 celebration, 'A Prophet With Honor,' sponsored in New York by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee in tribute to Dr. DUBOIS' life and work.

"Dr. and Mrs. DUBOIS had just returned from Baltimore where at Morgan College on June 6 he was awarded his ninth honorary degree. 'The most remarkable advance Negroes have made,' he said, 'is in education. When I went to Fisk there were only 25 students in the whole school. The other day at Morgan there were 300 in the graduating class.'

"Some 2,000 persons attended the Morgan exercises which were held outdoors at sunset. Among the recipients of honorary degrees was JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN, chairman of the Department of History, Brooklyn College, who is also a Fisk graduate. Dr. DUBOIS, wearing the doctoral cap given him at Charles University in Prague in October, 1958, was the last to be called. Faculty, students and guests all rose in tribute. 'Just 76 years ago,' he told them, 'I saw my first graduation exercise.'

"At the press conference, Dr. DUBOIS noted that Charles University was 300 years old when Columbus discovered America. The degree he received there is one not known in this

WFO 161-1496

country: Doctor of the Science of History. The University of Berlin, now called Humboldt University, also gave him a degree in 1958 at a ceremony which noted the graduate work he had done there in 1892-93. At that time, although he had been recommended for a doctorate, he lacked the money to stay on in Germany and he returned to Harvard, where he got his doctorate.

"The account of Dr. DUBOIS' Harvard days, which forms a chapter of his as yet unpublished autobiography, appears in the spring issue of the 'Massachusetts Review.' The current 'Who's Who in America' omits both the honorary degrees awarded to Dr. DUBOIS and his Phi Beta Kappa membership. The English 'Who's Who', however, published by Macmillan, lists all his degrees and awards."

WFO 161-1496  
HGJF:mro

"The Worker, Sunday, June 26, 1960, Page 8"

"Morgan State College in Baltimore graduated the largest class in the history of the school when 299 students with unusually high scholastic averages received degrees June 6.

"Added distinction was given the 93rd commencement of Morgan college by awarding honorary doctor-of-laws degrees to the youngest outstanding Negro scholar, Dr. JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN, chairman of the Department of History at Brooklyn College; the elder statesman of Negro scholars, Dr. W.E.B. DUBOIS; one of the first Negro jurists, Justice HAROLD A. STEVENS, of the appellate division of the New York Supreme court; one of Maryland's most influential Negro business men, WILLARD W. ALLEN; and the governor of Maryland, JOHN MILLARD TAWES.

"Commencement exercises were held in the green stadium bowl on Morgan's campus under a perfect June sky. The late afternoon sun highlighted imposing stone buildings in the background, slanted across the green with its banner-hung podium and shimmered over the rising, encircling tiers where more than two thousand gaily-clad spectators sat or stood among the trees.

#### "DR. FRANKLIN'S ADDRESS

"The graduating class, young faces lifted, listened attentively as Dr. JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN addressed them on 'Education and Social Responsibility.'

"Calling upon them to assume their full responsibility as 'educated men and women,' Dr. FRANKLIN said:

"'We cannot entrust the peace of the world, the fate of all of us, to persons who do not possess the qualities and qualifications that give them the vision of a better world and that give them a deep sense of dedication and responsibility in bringing it about.'

"'As one views the stance of our country today and its numerous troubles on the domestic and international scene, one has the uneasy feeling that at least a portion of our difficulties arises from our inability to look at our problems with the maturity and wisdom that should characterize an educated leadership.'



"AGAINST COMPLACENCY

"'It will be a great tragedy if we become indifferent or complacent about the poorly educated, uneducated, mediocre, or immoral men and women that occupy high places of leadership in our communities,' he continued.

"'Whether it is getting caught with our airplane thirteen hundred miles inside Russia; or getting caught indulging in practices of racial bigotry, we tend to adopt the rather immature approach summarized in the phrase, 'My country right or wrong!'"

"'Entirely missing is the policy of self-examination and self-analysis by which we can profit and improve ourselves. Missing, too, is the rigorous application of the standards of impartial justice and complete honesty; with the result that we fail utterly to utilize our vast resources to develop an enlightened domestic and foreign policy and to engage in the constructive solution of the major problems of the world.'

"Dr. FRANKLIN urged the graduates to be fearless and indefatigable in the 'pursuit of Truth' in 'proclaiming the Truth', and in 'following Truth' for the highest realization of Man's potentialities.

"RECEIVE DIPLOMAS

"As the 299 filed up and accepted their diplomas from the hand of Governor TAWES, they were straight and slim in their academic robes and it seemed to me that their faces were resolute and determined.

"When the name of the eldest honoraree was called, graduating class and faculty rose spontaneously to their feet while behind them the thousands of spectators stood and applauded loud and long. In the silence which followed, Dr. MARTIN JENKINS, president of Morgan State College read the citation beginning with the words 'scholar' and 'crusader'.

"'WILLIAM EDWARD BURGHARDT DUBOIS, we honor you today, in the ninety-third year of your rich and remarkable life, for your remarkable role in the upward struggle of the Negro people... Committed to the role of leadership while still in your twenties, you devoted your unusual talents to the task of building a better understanding among peoples and nations...

"Bent on making your America a better land in which to live, you initiated in 1905 the Niagara Movement which four years later lost its identity in a kindred group, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People,...Your sense of mission has not been limited by geographic lines. Sensitive to the plight of disinherited darker peoples in other parts of the world, you proceeded to organize the Pan-African Congresses, the first of which was held in Paris in 1919. Today in 1960 the newly-emerging nations of West Africa attest to your prophetic vision."

"After President JENKINS draped Morgan's hood of 'Doctor of Laws' over the bent shoulders, Dr. DUBOIS straightened and replaced on his head the cap conferred upon him in 1958 by ancient Charles University in Prague. This cap, incidentally, is the same as worn by COPERNICUS, rector of Charles University in the sixteenth century."

"The sun dropped behind distant hills as Dr. DUBOIS returned to his seat, and led by the silver tones of a young trumpeteer, the Morgan College Chorus rendered a stirring and unusual arrangement of 'The Battle Hymn of the Republic.'"

"Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the  
Lord,  
He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of  
wrath were stored,  
He has loosed the fateful lightning of His terrible  
quick Sword;  
His Truth is Marching on!"

"The fresh, young voices rang out triumphantly. As they mounted to the sky we older ones bowed our heads in deep gratitude. The future of my country and my race is safe in the hands of such young people."

"At the Morgan commencement banquet Monday night Dr. JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN announced that at Fisk University, the class of 1935 had initiated and endowed the W.E.B. DUBOIS Lecture Series at the university. Dr. FRANKLIN and his wife are both members of the Fisk class of '35, and had attended the 25th class reunion where the Lecture Series was set up."

WFO 161-1496

"The National Guardian, The Progressive News Weekly, Volume 13, Number 17, New York, February 6, 1961, page 12."

"The appointee's book under the Guardian Buying Service, Item Number 31, lists 'The Militant South', by J. H. FRANKLIN, \$5."

WFO 161-1496

HGJF:mro

"The National Guardian, The Progressive News Weekly,  
Volume 12, Number 18; New York, February 15, 1960,  
Page 7"

"One hundred years would seem time enough and more for so rich and strong a nation as ours to redeem the promise of freedom made to an unoffending people it once held as slaves. That the promise was sealed in torrents of blood in the most bitter of wars could not but help, in ordinary circumstances, to guarantee its fulfillment. Yet the Negro today, while not a slave, is far from free, and none dares say how long, O Lord, how long before he shall cross the bar to equal and undifferentiated citizenship.

"In Birmingham he may not rest for the night at the Thomas Jefferson Hotel or even the most modest white hostelry. He may view the zoo animals in Memphis on Thursday, but no other day. In one city he may collect white men's garbage but not patrol their streets. In another he may be a policeman (provided he arrests only his 'kind') but not a fireman (no matter whose house is burning). In some places he may deliver the mail but not sort it, while in others he may dig and pave the sidewalks but not build a house where a union card is required.

"In great areas of the South his vote is restricted or entirely denied. Whenever he leaves one city for another, North or South, he does so with some trepidation, knowing that in some areas he may journey for hundreds of miles without assurance of even the meanest of accommodations and with the practical certainty of insult or assault should he request them.

"Yet, when in his anguish and his anger he cries out, 'Enough!' the rulers of the nation answer: 'Time! Give us but more time to right our fathers' wrongs. Do not doubt we have the will; only give us time to find the way.' The President speaks, whenever he talks of Negroes at all, of the slow and tedious work to be done in changing men's hearts. No that he had ever opened his mouth to challenge the racist to take his heel off the Negro's neck. What seems important to him is that we should never forget how difficult it is to persuade white men to accept Negroes as their equals.

"A score of Senators echo this contention and assorted social soothsayers justify their complacency by reference to progress already made. Negroes were once 90% illiterate, they point out; now more than 90% of them read and write. Only a generation ago they were bunched on Southern peonage farms in abject poverty and misery; now two-thirds of all Negroes are city dwellers, the majority of their laborers are industrial workers and 1,500,000 of them are in unions.

"Some few have become capitalists in insurance, banking, publishing and service industries and the Government is attaching the estate of one of their late cult leaders with a \$6,000,000 tax lien. They are developing a consequential middle class; a few of their scholars even teach white youth, and the Negro intellectual today is a far cry from the unsophisticated ex-slaves who thronged the academies and 'colleges' during Reconstruction to study 'a little Latin and a little less Greek.'

"Progress, we are cautioned, has been slow but sure and it will surely continue. Patience is needed, not agitation; rather than carping criticism, faith that democracy as it unfolds will spread its largess to the Negro, too.

"There is a seeming plausibility in this reasoning and perhaps a majority of Americans accept it as a kind of gospel. Even some Negroes, themselves relatively comfortable, are disinclined to rock the boat or embarrass the nation in the eyes of a watching world.

"But the argument is false and its consequences can be calamitous to the cause of Negro freedom. It is false on three counts.

"First, much of what Negroes fight for today is not to gain new ground but to restore positions once dearly won and foully taken away. Four Negroes sit in Congress to speak for Northern constituencies, but not one from any of the Southern states which sent 22 Negroes to the House and Senate during Reconstruction and the Populist bid for power. For a brief time in our history more Negroes sat in the South Carolina legislature than now sit in all the legislatures of the 50 states. In 1896 the Negro vote in North Carolina was 120,000; today, though the Negro population of the state has trebled and women have won the franchise, Negro registration there stands at 150,000.



"Is this progress? No, it is confirmation of a central lesson of Negro history: that the advance toward equality has not been a straight path, but a dreary zig-zag road; that the nation has undertaken to insure justice to the Negro only in fits and starts, but not with sustained enthusiasm for the project; that it has time and again let the slightest pretext turn it aside from the work at hand.

"The lesson is there to learn. DUBOIS and CARTER G. WOODSON, the founder of Negro History Week, made it plain in their writings many years ago. Younger historians--HERBERT APTHEKER, JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN, C. VANN WOODWARD--have underscored it in more recent works.

"Are we, then, in the thick of a second Reconstruction, as Georgia's Sen. HERMAN TALMADGE recently complained in a protest against civil rights laws? Or have the forces of reaction already turned the tide toward restoration of their power to treat the Negro as their will or whim dictates? It may not be possible to tell, but this much is certain: the pace of progress has been slowed; the expectations of easy victory which sanguine men entertained on the heels of the 1954 Supreme Court decision have given way to a more sober estimate of the magnitude of the battle and the strength of the enemy; and THURGOOD MARSHALL's year-end statement that all that remains in the legal fight against segregation is a 'mopping up' process and 'a little fast play around second base' was even more false than trite.

"Tuskegee Institute, in its annual survey of race relations in the South, came closer to the truth: 'Race relations did not change appreciably in 1959. Despite the urgency of America's aspirations to promote peace...there was--on balance--little compelling evidence that America itself was able...to advance human understanding significantly within its own boundaries.'

"Nine Negro children entered Little Rock's Central High School in 1957. Today there are only five in former all-white schools. For two thousand others, segregation with all its deprivations is as much a fact of life as if the Supreme Court had never ruled against it. In Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Florida and Texas massive resistance has given way to token integration, a tactic of resistance through 'compliance.'

"Far from having assurance of victory in the fight for Negro rights, on every front the biggest battles lie ahead. But aside from this, the argument of those who would have the Negro 'go slow' in light of former progress is false because it sees progress in absolute, but not in relative terms. To be sure, Negroes have moved from Southern farms to Northern cities, but whites have moved to exclusive suburbs in droves, leaving Negroes rotting slums. And a new set of problems--Northern jimcrow, rising crime rates, persistent social disorganization, official neglect and abuse--have risen to take the place of the older, more typically Southern outrages.

"The Negro can count his progress only as he closes the gap which separates him from his fellow citizens in opportunity and accomplishment. In good times and bad, unemployment among Negro workers remains twice as high as among whites. A recent government study revealed that of the 32,200,000 poorest family units of the nation, 6,400,000, or one-fifth, were Negro, though Negroes are but one-tenth of the population. And this 6,400,000 families constituted more than a third of all Negro families in the nation.

"The complaint is not that the Negro has stood still these past 100 years, but that he has not been able to close the gap. To do this he must move faster than others, not merely apace with them; he must have legal and social protections which others take for granted. This is the essence of the fight for 'Negro' or 'civil' rights. One way to accomplish this might be for the Government to indemnify its Negro citizens for the two-and-a-half centuries of slave labor exacted from their forebears' sweat and blood. The cost, while considerable, would be less than the price of a modern war and the rewards would be infinitely more worthwhile.

"The third fallacy rises from a misunderstanding of the nature of the human quest for equality. One man cannot be more or less equal than another. One concession to a righteous demand merely provokes another demand, for the thirst for freedom grows on what it feeds on. The nation's task must be, then, not to discourage the Negro's demand for rights, but to grant them now and fully, even though doing so require that the nation painfully revise its political and social structure. The change can only be for the better.

"And the Negro's task must be to demand and fight for his rights no matter what the consequences. This becomes increasingly difficult to do in a prosperous time when the nation is conditioned by social 'conflicts' in which nobody gets hurt. Even so staunch a fighter for equality as a veteran NAACP attorney of Atlanta recently told an Emancipation meeting that while Negroes 'cannot compromise or retreat from their insistence upon equality under law' they are willing to work with others to determine the best means of equality 'without any real detriment to any segment of our citizenry.'

"The attorney means well but is wrong. Negroes must never be content with only such rights as will not inconvenience anybody else. Their freedom is going to hurt somebody; otherwise their continued oppression would be inexplicable. What is encouraging about the prospect is that those who stand to suffer by the Negro's gain, though powerful, are but a numerically miniscule part of the whole American nation.

"They take profit from the differential in the Negro's wages--profits measured in billions of dollars. Out of his disfranchisement they enjoy political preferment. On the basis of his social degradation they build a mannered aristocracy, pleasant to themselves but repugnant to the democratic vitality of the nation. They will be hurt by the Negro's forward surge, and the Negro must aim to hurt them. He must say to them, as Sojourner Truth once said, 'You have got to give us house room or the roof will tumble in!'

"But what of the white worker at the lathe and on the farm, the teacher, the doctor, the housewife; the cook in the restaurant, the seaman, the miner in the pit--the vast majority of Americans? What have they to lose from the Negro's forward march? Their prejudices? Yes. Their false sense of superiority? Yes. But, oh, how much to gain; nothing less than a new nation to gain.

"The Negro must say to them: Come, brothers, let us hold hands and walk together; let us build together, on the foundation of my freedom, a new nation dedicated to the proposition affirmed at Gettysburg and waiting these many years for us to make it real.

"That can be the Negro's greatest gift to this great nation."

"The Worker, Sunday, February 12, 1961, page 10."

Under "for Negro History Week, Jefferson Bookshop offers at a flat discount of 15 per cent on all orders over \$5, under Item Number 31, lists 'Militant South' by J. H. FRANKLIN- \$5."

"The Workers Library, Books and Pamphlets, Winter 1936-37, distributed by International Bookshop, 513 F Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., cataloged on page 17 lists 'National Defense'-JOHN FRANKLIN-5¢. The armaments race and the need for anti-war unity."

The forward of this pamphlet stated the following:

"The Workers Library Publishers serves the labor movement by publishing in pamphlet form or in low-priced paper-covered editions the literature most essential to the clarification of the vital problems facing society today in the light of their solution in the interest of the broad masses of workers, farmers and intellectuals."

"The Workers Library Publishers also handles a complete list of the publications of International Publishers and International Pamphlets, all of which are listed in this catalogue, as well as pamphlets issued by other working class organizations, and a selected list of books of other publishers which answer certain needs of the labor movement."

"Every worker, farmer and progressive intellectual should read these editions and aid in their widespread distribution."

"The prices of books listed in this catalogue are subject to change without notice. On all orders of 10 cents or less, add 3 cents for postage. Additional copies of this catalogue may be had on request."

The rear cover of this catalogue contains the following information:

"Keep Abreast of World Events! Read

"The Communist"

"A monthly magazine issued by the Communist Party of the U.S.A., dealing with the most vital social, economic and political issues of the day."

"Single copies 20 cents. Subscription \$2.00

WFO 161-1496

"The Communist International

"Monthly publication of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, containing articles by outstanding leaders of the world Communist Parties.

"Single copies 15 cents. Subscription \$1.75.

"International Press Correspondence  
(Inprecorr)

"A weekly review of political events on the international arena.

"Single copies 10 cents. Subscription \$5.00.

"Special Combination Offer

"A subscription to all three of these important publications for one year may be had for the special price of \$7.20.

"Send your subscription to

"Workers Library Publishers  
"P.O. Box 148, Sta. D  
"New York City"

"The Workers Library, Books and Pamphlets, 1938, for sale by Workers Literature Agency, 914 N. Plankinton Avenue, Milwaukee, Wisc., catalogued on page 18 lists 'National Defense' by JOHN FRANKLIN. The armaments race and the need for anti-war unity.

"On page 1 appears the following information:

"TO THE READER

"'When an idea seizes hold of the masses it becomes power.'" -KARL MARX.

"Workers Library Publishers serves the labor movement by publishing in pamphlet form or in low-priced paper-covered editions, the literature most essential to the clarification of the vital problems facing society today.

"Workers Library Publishers also distributes all



books and pamphlets issued by International Publishers, as well as other publications which help to fight reaction and to strengthen and build the labor and progressive movement.

"Workers Library Publishers distributes the hundreds of titles listed in this catalog. These publications deal with the American scene, including the struggle of the unemployed, workers in basic industries, farmers, sharecroppers, Negro people, professionals and white-collar workers, women and youth; with world affairs, including the people's movements in France, Spain, and China, the building of socialism in the Soviet Union, and the provocations and aggressions of international fascism; with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, politics, economics, trade union and general labor problems, and progressive contributions to philosophy, science, history, literature and art.

"Workers Library Publishers urges every progressive-minded person to read these publications and aid in their wide-spread distribution.

"The prices of books listed in this catalog are subject to change without notice. On book orders add 10 cents postage per book. On pamphlet orders of 10 cents and less, add 3 cents for postage. Additional copies of this catalog may be had on request."

On the back cover appears the following information:

"Keep Abreast of World Events! Read

"The Communist

"A monthly magazine issued by the Communist Party of the U.S.A. dealing with the most vital social, economic and political issues of the day.

"Single copies 20 cents. Subscription \$2.00.

"The Communist International

"Monthly publication of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, containing articles by outstanding leaders of the world Communist Parties.

"Single copies 15 cents. Subscription \$1.75

"International Press Correspondence (Inprecorr)

"A weekly review of political events on the international arena.

"Single copies 5 cents. Subscription \$3.00.

WFO 161-1496

"Special Combination Offer"

"A subscription to all three of these important publications for one year may be had for the special price of \$6.20"

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 08-21-2009 BY 60322 UCLP/PLJ/JN

ENCLOSURE

161-1819-32

**Information Request for Membership in  
the American League Against  
War and Fascism**

I, the undersigned, am interested in the struggle against War and Fascism. I wish to receive information about membership in the League and its activities.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_ City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_

Occupation \_\_\_\_\_

Organization (if any) \_\_\_\_\_

•  
**The  
FIGHT**  
Against War and Fascism  
*An Illustrated Monthly*

Informative Articles, Short Stories, Cartoons, Photos, News,  
Exposés, Interpretation of International Events, Facts

**Printed and Illustrated in Five Colors**

**10 cents a Copy**

**\$1.00 a Year**

•  
**American League Against  
War and Fascism**

**112 EAST 19th STREET Room 702 NEW YORK, N. Y.**

67-7561-2-26

COPY A

J.S. 2-28-37  
Yerkville Casino  
nyc

# **NATIONAL DEFENSE**

By JOHN FRANKLIN

5¢

~~THE~~ **PUBLISHED BY**  
**AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM**  
**112 EAST 19th STREET**  
**NEW YORK, N. Y.**



**April, 1936**



## INTRODUCTION

There was a time when the constant threat of conquest and invasion made national defense a common concern of the American people. That was years ago when the nation was young and when the imperialist powers of Europe were busy carving out their colonial empires. The founding fathers recognized this danger of invasion. They realized that their recently-won national freedom had to be protected, that coast lines and land borders required vigilant defense. Hence they embodied their determination to "provide for the common defense" in the preamble of the Constitution of the United States.

Our nation has now become a world power, embracing a vast country that extends from coast to coast and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf. Over a century of freedom from the threat of foreign invasion has resulted in land borders that are free from fortifications. On neither the Canadian nor Mexican border does a single fort exist today. It has not been deemed necessary to build heavy defense fortifications on either of our shores, eastern or western. The passing panic of a shelling of a city on the East Coast by a submarine during the World War passed away as quickly as the bite of a mosquito.

But since 1918 the development of the airplane as an offensive weapon of war has raised doubts in the minds of some people about the adequacy of our national defense. "Distance is annihilated," they say. "Death comes on the wings of the wind." Incited by jingoists and scaremongers, these people cry for "preparedness" in the form of a huge army and navy. They have been told that "unpreparedness" was very costly to us in the last war. Looking abroad they see greater armaments than ever before. Every conference

## NATIONAL DEFENSE

IN THE year ending June 30, 1937, the United States will spend more than one billion dollars on its army and navy. This is the largest of many enormous war budgets in the peace-time history of the United States. These appropriations bills are being passed in the face of decreased expenditures for education and other social agencies, crippled through inadequate funds in recent years.

The increased appropriations for war were supported by the present administration. They were demanded by "patriotic" organizations such as the D.A.R., American Legion, and the Navy League. They were promoted by lobbyists for shipbuilding and arms firms. They were supported by a solid block of newspapers headed by those of William Randolph Hearst.

All this was done in the sacred name of "national defense." The invariable argument employed consisted of three points:

1. Europe is arming, and war in Europe seems imminent.
2. Although the United States never wants war, and hopes to avoid this one, strongly armed nations may have designs upon us.
3. The way to prevent war is for the United States, a peace-loving nation, to equip itself with more powerful armaments than nations who might wish to attack us.

The chief difficulty in this argument is that it fails to be specific. No explanation is made by any of the proponents of the appropriations bills of *what* nations might attack us, *why* they would want to attack us, and *how* they would go about attacking us.

### The Question

Let us ask Roosevelt, Hearst, du Pont, and Morgan one clear question: *Is there any possibility whatsoever of any nation launching an attack upon the United States?*

In reply, we can cite dozens of official and unofficial experts on military affairs. They have repeatedly stated that the United States is located in a position to make successful invasion strategi-

cally impossible, if opposed by an army infinitely smaller than our present force, and no navy at all.

Further, and more important, any student of economic affairs can point to the lack of any reason for a foreign nation to attack this country.

*Let us understand this clearly. Wars in this modern world are not fought so that one industrially developed nation may add another developed nation unto itself. Wars are fought for possession of colonies, for control of foreign markets, for economic supremacy in backward nations—or, as Woodrow Wilson expressed it, for "commercial advantage."*

Think back over the wars in recent history, and their purpose. The World War deprived Germany of her colonies and markets, but left the bulk of the Fatherland intact. England sends her armies against the tribes of northern India who challenge British imperialism. Japan invades China, and seizes vast areas in backward Manchuria. Italy attacks the undeveloped state of Ethiopia, and appears ready to fight Britain for control of northern Africa. The United States uses its Marine Corps to overthrow South American governments which came to power opposing the economic dictatorship of American corporations.

This is why the United States fortifies Hawaii and other insular possessions, valuable only to a handful of American corporations, but leaves our land boundaries bare of any fortifications and our sea-coast almost defenseless.

This is why the billions of dollars spent for arms are not spent for defensive weapons.

This is why Franklin Delano Roosevelt, as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, once said: "Strictly speaking, if national defense applies solely to the prevention of an army landing on our Atlantic or Pacific coasts, no navy at all is necessary."

*If America goes to war again, it will not be to defend this nation against foreign invasion of our borders. We will go to war to defend our foreign markets and investments, or to acquire economic control over new colonial areas.*

### **Arming the Enemy**

But let us for a moment assume that the public statements of Army and Navy officials, of so-called patriotic organizations such

as the American Legion, and of Hearstian journalists are something other than sheer nonsense. Let us assume, for the sake of the argument, that there is a real danger of invasion, and an actual need for defense. Surely it should not be demanding too much intelligence of a general to expect him to grasp the elementary fact that *arming a future enemy* is not exactly bright.

*Yet for years the government of the United States has been deliberately promoting and assisting the sale of all kinds of arms to those very nations which are pointed out to us as possible enemies.*

American arms firms have been selling indiscriminately, not only to both sides of foreign conflicts, not only to both sides of civil wars in foreign nations, but directly and openly to nations who, according to militarists, are eager to use these arms against us. These companies ship their wares abroad with the full knowledge and consent of our government.

Furthermore, the Army and Navy have given invaluable assistance to these companies in making their sales. Warships of the U. S. Navy have been sent to foreign ports to demonstrate the effectiveness of new weapons, first developed in the United States and now on sale to any nation with the money to buy. Military and naval officials have written glowing letters of praise to be used as sales promotion by arms salesmen. On occasion, supplies already acquired for the military or naval reserve stores have been released for foreign shipment to private firms.

Furthermore, officers trained in the armed forces of the United States have been assigned or released to foreign governments to assist them in developing their military and naval machinery.

### **An International System**

But what explodes completely the whole myth of national defense is the fact that military and naval secrets—inventions developed and perfected in the United States by or for our government—are indiscriminately released to foreign governments. There has been created an international system for the exchange of military secrets, a system which has put into the hands of America's "future enemies" powerful weapons which might otherwise have been retained for our exclusive use.

Examples of this type of international exchange are too numer-

ous even to list. Let us record here merely one of countless "gentlemen's agreements" between international arms firms. The one in question links the duPonts with two German chemical firms, the *Vereinigte Köln-Rottweiler Pulverfabriken* and *Dynamit Actien-Gesellschaft*.

"Each party agrees to and until the 31st of December, 1935, upon making or obtaining any patented invention or discovering or acquiring any secret invention, to disclose in writing to the other party immediately, or in any event within six months thereafter, full particulars in respect thereof, and thereafter to furnish to the other party, whenever and so often as the other party shall request, copies of all claims, specifications, applications and patents in respect of any such patented invention, and copies of all writings setting forth any such secret invention and such further information as the other party shall request in respect of any such patented invention or secret invention."

If we are to accept the statement that America needs defense, the least we might expect is that some intelligent plan of organizing our defense be developed.

However, year after year only a small part of the billions of dollars given the Army and Navy are spent for defensive purposes. What are they spent for? First, on a well-developed machinery for foreign aggression. Second, on an equally well-developed military machine for use against the people of the United States.

#### **Why Millions for War Preparations?**

The largest military and naval appropriations bills in the peacetime history of the United States have just been passed through Congress. The U. S. Senate raised the War Department Appropriations Bill from \$545,226,318. to \$611,362,604. It also voted to increase the enlisted strength of the Army from 150,000 to 165,000 men. The Navy Department Bill (still in committee in both houses—April 1, 1936) calls for an expenditure of over \$551,000,000. Last year, in addition to regular budgets, the Army received nearly \$22,000,000. in emergency grants while the Navy got over \$138,000,000. The total budget for war preparations was \$1,138,000,000. This year, without the special grants that are bound to come, the total is already over \$1,162,000,000.

These bills are being passed through Congress with no explanation whatsoever to the American people of their real purpose. We are not told why such enormous expenditures are necessary. We are not informed of any impending war, nor is any potential enemy named. The President continually reiterates his policy of the "good neighbor," yet gives his support to increased Army and Navy strength.

### **The First Reason**

Why did these bills go through? First let us look at a letter written after the close of a recent session of Congress by *Sterling J. Joyner*, Vice-President of the Electric Boat Company, in charge of their Washington office, to the President of the Company, Henry Carse. Mr. Joyner wrote:

"Now that the session of Congress is closed and our legislative activities are temporarily held in abeyance, it is a pleasure indeed to report to you and to the Board of Directors that all of our legislative efforts have borne fruit.

"The cruiser bill is passed, and the submarine appropriations have been passed, and as I sincerely promised you the day we lunched together in New York, we did manage after overcoming a number of handicaps and jumping some hurdles to get the second deficiency bill through, and in doing so we succeeded in getting our claim through, and we expect to receive payment at two o'clock this afternoon or early tomorrow morning.

"Members of the Navy Department have seen fit on several occasions lately not only to write, but to personally express their appreciations and congratulations on the success of such parts of the program as we were directly interested in and for the help we gave the Navy Department. I am not prepared to write you; however, I shall be glad to tell you verbally what really happened with reference to the deficiency bill, and the part this office played in getting the bill through. . . .

"My reason for not putting this in writing is out of respect for those who helped, and who were so powerful and so friendly. . . .

"With good-will and a friendly attitude existing in the Army and Navy, in Commerce and the Shipping Board, and the Treasury Department, and a good-will does exist which is true, as is the statement of pleasant friendly relations, we may well feel that a brighter future has opened up for this company, with less sales resistance and pleasant hours free from the past worries and cares. . . ."



Thus we see, through one of many examples, how the united forces of private business and the Army and Navy conspire to drive through Congress enormous and increasing appropriations for their mutual aggrandizement. The extent to which the present administration supports this conspiracy is brought out in the following quotations. The first is from a public statement by *Nelson Macy, President of the Navy League*.

Mr. Macy said: "For the first time in twelve years the Navy League, in paying this tribute to President Roosevelt, has the satisfaction of congratulating the American people upon the attainment of an adequate and reasonably assured program of naval construction. The forceful leadership of the President, with the co-operation of Congress, has accomplished all that could have been accomplished to redeem the neglect of naval construction since the Washington Treaty of 1922."

Speaking for the Army, the Chief of Staff, in his 1935 report, opened with the comment: "For the first time since 1922 the Army enters a new fiscal year with a reasonable prospect of developing itself into a defense establishment commensurate in size and efficiency to the country's minimum needs. Obstacles which for thirteen years have impeded, if not inhibited, progress towards this goal, have only recently either been swept aside by Congress or materially reduced in importance."

A year ago *William Randolph Hearst* — whose huge profits from past wars are still unrevealed—urged his editors to extoll the Administration "for its preparedness policies, which are its main achievements."

It is also significant to note that just before the 1936 appropriations bills were scheduled to come up, Senator Key Pittman delivered in the Senate a highly provocative speech attacking Japan. In his speech he called for a naval and air force of sufficient strength to protect American interests in the Far East.

Students of government agree that the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the post held by Mr. Pittman, almost invariably acts as spokesman for the Administration. Neither the President nor the Secretary of State disavowed this stand taken by Senator Pittman. In fact he reflected Administration policy when he asserted that the U. S. "does not intend to surrender the freedom of the seas." Put over against this assertion the statement of *Rear Admiral William S. Simms* (retired), "The most

powerful cause for insisting on the freedom of the seas is the pressure of greed, of commercial interest. The great war showed us how very powerful is this force. In that war we claimed the freedom of the seas chiefly because we wanted the enormous profits of war trade."

### **The Second Reason**

Pittman's speech illustrates what the word defense means today when employed by our government. The Navy he asked for, and the Army and Navy demanded by official and unofficial spokesmen of the militarists are not for the defense of the United States. Rather they are for the protection of investments made by American corporations in the Far East—China and the Philippines. Invasion of the United States is not what they fear; rather they fear the loss of economic influence on foreign soil, valuable only to a handful of major corporations. Senator Pittman discounts treaties. "There is only one answer, and that is dominating naval and air forces."

Study the naval budget and see how the money is being spent. Study the naval weapons developed in recent years. To even an amateur student of strategy it is apparent that there is rapidly being developed a highly efficient machinery for launching a smashing attack by sea and air on some foreign shore. The whole picture of naval development in the United States is a picture of preparation for foreign aggression.

Remember the manoeuvres of the United States Navy last summer. In this largest concentration of our naval force ever held, the "dress rehearsal" was not a rehearsal of defense. Rather the official object was the establishment of salients off the Japanese coast from which could be launched an attack by air bombers.

Several examples illustrate the aggressive nature of America's developing war plans. First, consider the frank statement of *Brigadier General G. H. Estes* to National Guard officers in February, 1934: "What we must have and what we are working for is a swift, smashing, military machine, full of pep and energy, *built primarily for the offensive* (italics ours) and taking full advantage of scientific progress."

Then let us note carefully a little phrase hidden away in the Army Appropriation Bill (H.R. 11035, p.42, line 3,) in the section

entitled Chemical Warfare Service, which reads: "... for ... the training of the Army in chemical warfare, both *offensive* and *defensive*." (Italics ours.)

Further let us also examine certain phrases in Roosevelt's message to Congress of March 4, 1935, in which he urged direct subsidies to the United States Merchant Marine:

"Second, in the event of a major war in which the United States is not involved, our commerce, in the absence of an adequate American Merchant Marine, might find itself seriously crippled because of its inability to secure bottoms for neutral peaceful foreign trade.

"Third, in the event of a war in which the United States itself might be engaged, American flagships are obviously needed not only for naval auxiliaries but also for the maintenance of reasonable and necessary commercial intercourse with other nations. We should remember lessons learned in the last war."

More recently a group of West Coast Congressmen have added fuel to the growing fire of war preparations: Said *Representative Lea* of California in February, 1936, "We must assume that we are going to have a war in the Pacific, possibly with a great power far out in the Pacific." Why "*must*", we ask! The shipbuilding concerns on the Pacific coast want a 6 per cent differential for construction of naval craft in that area. Congressmen Lea, Pierce and others are willing to lend a helping hand to secure a goodly portion of \$175,000,000 worth of Navy shipbuilding for their constituents. A rousing war scare helps the matter along.

### War for Business

If America goes to war again, it will not be for the defense of your interests and mine. Rather we will be asked to take up arms for the glory of American imperialism, for the maintenance and development of foreign markets for American business.

It would appear from this that the commercial interests of American big business in the Far East must be enormous. Let us look at the facts.

In the year of 1934, exports to China totaled \$69,000,000; imports from China were \$44,000,000. At the same time, it was estimated that the total amount of American capital invested in China was around \$160,000,000.

On the other hand, let us look at the figures on our trade with Japan. Propaganda in the Hearst press has complained that Japan is flooding American markets. Yet in 1934 we exported to Japan merchandise to the value of \$210,000,000, while imports amounted to only \$119,000,000.

Contrast these figures with a *yearly peace-time* war budget of over \$1,000,000,000.

If we are planning only to defend our present holdings, one may well question again the sanity of those who would defend one dollar by spending one hundred. If insanity is not the answer we must conclude that our government is deliberately planning a war of conquest and aggression, a war not to protect American investments, but to acquire new and valuable property to compensate American capital for the enormous investment made in war.

### **Preparations for a National Emergency**

The most startling fact which has come out of recent investigations, however, is the revelation of plans for use of the United States Army against the people of the United States. A new note has crept into military legislation. No longer do we find that certain powers are to be granted or certain actions taken in time of war only. Today we find repeated again and again the phrase "in time of war or other national emergency."

It is for this reason that the office of Assistant Secretary of War has assumed an importance which overshadows even that of the Secretary. For the Assistant is charged with the responsibility of economic organization and planning within our national boundaries in order to provision and equip the armed forces. Let *Harry H. Woodring*, Assistant Secretary of War, outline in his own words the menace of the Army to the civil population:\*

"People who believe that the U. S. Army is not ready and able to take charge of this nation in an emergency simply do not know the facts. Our Army happens to be the only branch of the government which is *already organized and available not only to defend our territory but also to cope with social and economic problems in an emergency.* . . .

"Few people outside of Army circles have any idea of the extent and character of the Army organization and set-up. The Army begins where most plans for economic reforms stop short—with

\*Liberty Magazine for January 6, 1934.

actual human beings. Our policy has been that the ultimate defense of the country must be the responsibility of the country's *entire* population. Our national defense is based on a citizen army. . . .

"The Army is essentially a self-contained nation within the nation, an authority able to work independently of the political and business conditions of the country, under the Constitutional Commander in Chief, the President, assisted by the Secretary of War. . . .

"Similarly the Army has sometimes been called upon to suppress disorderly activities in defiance of government by large groups of individuals. . . . It is scarcely too much to state that the Army's existence for this purpose alone would justify the investment we have made in it. Economic breakdown, unless promptly corrected, induces social breakdown. In such a crisis the Army is the only organization in the country which is ready and able to maintain the government. . . .

"The C. C. C. mobilization is thus more than a great military achievement; it is a dress rehearsal of the Army's ability to intervene, under Constitutional authority, in combatting the depression. . . .

"If a national crisis were declared tomorrow, the world would be astonished by the ease and speed with which we mobilized necessary men and supplies. . . .

"These plans and measures are designed to insure availability of adequate quantities of military supplies. They could work equally well in rationing the civil population during this depression. . . .

*"In my opinion, a proper carrying out of the industrial mobilization plans formulated in my office will 'take the profit out of war' and accomplish in large measure the purpose of those who advocate a 'universal draft' of property, money and civilian labor. And such a plan is adopted in peace as in war to coordinate our economic life and ration our civilian population. The plan is there, and the Army is ready, should it be called upon to act. . . .*

"Whether or not it is true, as many hold, that the C. C. C. camps are the forerunners of the great civilian labor armies of the future, I believe that this activity should be expanded and put under control of the Army. . . .

"In the same way I believe that the Army should take over the work of rationing the unemployed. . . . If the Army were so directed, it could organize the veterans of the World War, the C. C. C. men, and through them the system of emergency relief, into a system of economic storm troops."

## **Government by the Army**

What is Mr. Woodring saying in this amazing statement? Simply that the U. S. Army has been preparing for thirteen years and is now ready to take over the government of the United States under the leadership of the President.

It is interesting to note that this statement of Mr. Woodring's has never been repudiated by the Commander in Chief of the U. S. Army, Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

It is also interesting to note the official Army attitude towards the present American form of government. We find this in the army "Training Manual No. 2000-25", used in the education of hundreds of thousands of young Americans:

"DEMOCRACY: A government of the masses. Authority derived through mass meeting or any other form of 'direct' expression. Results in mobocracy. Attitude towards property is communistic—negating property rights. Attitude towards law is that the will of the majority shall regulate, whether it be based upon deliberation or governed by passion, prejudice, and impulse, without restraint or regard for consequences. Results in demagogism, license, agitation, discontent, anarchy."

Once this pamphlet was exposed to the general public, it was withdrawn by the War Department. We can find no record, however, of the sentiment expressed being officially contradicted.

Mr. Woodring continually refers to "constitutional authority". We should remember that this authority gives the President the power to declare a state of national emergency, and put the nation under martial law, suspending all democratic procedure, and—as we saw during the World War—all civil and economic liberty.

The military manual on civil disturbances, recently issued by order of the Secretary of War, affords some idea of what American citizens can expect under military rule. Here are some excerpts from the manual:

"Troops have a right to use such force as is necessary to carry out their orders and to accomplish their military mission, and individual officers and men are not liable for honest errors of judgment in determining how much force is necessary in a given emergency. . . ."

"Blank cartridges should never be used against a mob, nor should a volley be fired over the heads of the mob even if there is little danger of hurting persons in the rear."

"There will be many cases where tanks can be used to



good advantage. Certainly the moral as well as the physical effect of a tank bearing down upon a mob will do much toward breaking up the mob."

The fact that the newspapers tell us that the country is "coming out of the depression" should not lead us to believe that the possibility of a peace-time national emergency has passed. For while production indices are close to 1929 levels in many industries, and while corporation profits have increased by enormous percentages, there has been no appreciable reduction in the number of unemployed. Further, the thirteen millions of jobless are being added to each year as more young men and women come of working age.

Another serious development is reported by the *World Telegram* of March 28, 1935:

"The startling situation confronting the nation is this:—Steel, like its affiliated industry—coal—has reached the saturation point of available jobs; and, as in coal, fewer men will be needed. The new mills now being built are not needed for added production, but will displace mills now in operation. And, in so doing, they will decrease the number of workers needed to manufacture a ton of steel."

The article continues by quoting *J. D. A. Morrow*, president of the Pittsburgh Coal Co., biggest bituminous producer: "Within ten years only the completely modernized coal mine will have survived. Of the present 500,000 bituminous coal miners, at least one-half will be replaced by machinery."

This ever-increasing army of unemployed may well form the "national emergency" of which Mr. Woodring speaks. It also suggests to us what he means by the "great civilian labor armies of the future".

### **War on the American People**

Quietly, secretly, the plans for the next war of conquest move forward. War expenditures rise, while schools shut down for lack of funds. The Liberty League and the Republican party cry out against the money spent to pay WPA workers wages averaging \$53 a month and going as low as \$27, but make no protest against the war budget. And you and I, the people of the United States, are left in the dark as to the meaning of it all. No one in the government explains to us who we are preparing to fight, or why. Always the explanation is the misused and meaningless phrase, "National Defense".

National Defense—for whom? We, the people of the United States, have no enemies beyond our shores. The real attack on us is being prepared at home. Twenty-five times in the past 14 months military forces of the United States—the National Guard—have been called out against us. We who are unemployed dare not band together to secure the barest needs of life lest we be imprisoned or shot down.

And now we learn that larger offensives against us are being prepared. New techniques of chemical warfare against demonstrators and strikers are being taught. Today we see in our newspapers that corporations such as the H. C. Frick Coke Company and the Weirton Steel Company are laying in huge stores of riot guns, gas masks, projectiles, shells, grenades, tear gas, revolvers, machine guns, and ammunition in anticipation of the future wage cuts and speed-ups they expect to saddle upon labor.

Openly the Army and National Guard prepare for war on the American people. And over our heads hangs the threat of a complete military dictatorship over every phase of our civil and economic life—a dictatorship enforced by the iron heel of the United States Army, a dictatorship to be established whenever the President shall decide that a national emergency exists.

### **Unite Against the Real Enemy**

Let us defend our nation! But let us have a genuine national defense. Let us organize and band together to defend ourselves against the real enemy—not the enemy that threatens the foreign investments of American big business, not the fictitious enemy that is supposed to be threatening our shores. The real enemy is in our midst. The real enemy is composed of those economic interests and forces that are determined to drag this nation into a foreign war—a war of aggression, not of defense—and plan military repression and control of millions of American citizens as starvation and unemployment continue unabated.

The time is short! Plans for war move rapidly. We must not delay. The American League Against War and Fascism has already united a great mass of American citizens in common resistance to war and its twin evil, fascism. Millions more must be added to the growing ranks of this movement if we are successfully to defend our lives, our families and our homes.

This is the most pressing job of the American people!

## **PROGRAM AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM**

**The American League Against War and Fascism** invites all organizations and persons who desire to defeat these two allied enemies of mankind—*War* and *Fascism*—to unite in carrying out the following program:

This program was adopted by the Third Congress, and is the basis for our activities during 1936.

1. To work toward the stopping of the manufacture and transport of munitions in time of peace or war, and in time of war the transport of all other materials essential to the conduct of war, through mass demonstrations, picketing and strikes; and to enlist the professional classes in educational propaganda against war and for participation with workers and farmers in anti-war actions.

2. To expose at every point the extensive preparations for war being carried on by the government of the United States, (a) under the guise of "national defense" and (b) by diversion to war preparations funds for relief projects and public works; to demand that relief funds be spent only in constructive work or for adequate relief, and that the huge additional budgets now being spent in preparation for war be transferred to the extension of health and education.

3. To resist the increasing militarization of youth in schools, CCC and CMTC camps and the use of their dependence upon relief to get them into the armed forces.

4. To demand total and universal disarmament, as proposed by the Soviet Union to the League of Nations, and to support all measures that move clearly toward that goal.

5. To demand that neutrality legislation effectively cover all war supplies, loans and credits, and permit no discretion to the President; more particularly, to promote and support refusal of workers to handle all materials of war; to organize and support

public condemnation of those who seek profit from the sale of war materials and war loans; to organize mass support for every effort, national or international, which in our judgment as occasion arises, is directed toward postponing, restricting, or shortening war.

6. To oppose the policies of American imperialism in Latin America, the Far East and throughout the world; to give the support of our protests and demands to all peoples who are resisting exploitation, aggression and suppression by imperialist powers; to those in all lands who struggle against the war measures and fascist policies of their own governments, and to all who suffer under the fascist state.

7. To demonstrate constantly the relationship between war and fascism; to expose and counteract fascist propaganda, both foreign and native; to prevent the formation of fascist forces in this country.

8. To oppose all developments leading to Fascism, particularly the increasingly widespread use of armed forces and vigilante terrorism against workers, unemployed, farmers, Negroes, and other racial minorities, who are exercising their constitutional rights to protest against unbearable conditions and to organize for their own advancement.

9. To resist the attempts of our American fascists to destroy —by legislation, executive order, judicial decree, or lawless action —our guaranteed civil rights of free speech, free press, free assembly, the right to organize, strike, picket and demonstrate; and further to resist all forms of discrimination against foreign born based on their political or labor activities.

10. To oppose all legislation or orders denying citizens in the armed forces their constitutional right to receive printed matter or personal appeals in behalf of this or any other program, designed to secure peace, freedom and justice; and to defend their right to join organizations on the same basis as other citizens.

F B I

Date: 1/23/62

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (161-866) (RUC)

SUBJECT: JOHN HOPE <sup>O</sup> FRANKLIN,  
SPI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 08-21-2009 BY 60322 UCLP/PLJ/JN

ReWFOairtel 1/18/62.

Reairtel makes reference to an article in the "Kingsman", a Brooklyn College newspaper that the appointee had signed an American Civil Liberties Union resolution calling for abolition of the committee. A check of issues of the Brooklyn College newspaper "Kingsman" develops that in the issue of May 19, 1961, there is an editorial entitled "Film and Fracas" and in this editorial mention is made of the fact that two professors at Brooklyn College had joined 250 college professors in signing a resolution advocating the abolition of the HCUA sponsored by the American Civil Liberties Union. Inasmuch as this is a repetition of information previously reported by the NYO from the "NY Times" under 3/29/61, it will not be repeated and NYO will therefore submit no additional report.

3-Bureau  
1-New York (161-866)

JPF:JVM  
(5)

*see destroyed  
2/20/62 mgf*

**161-1819-33**  
NOT RECORDED

JAN 25 1962

*Spec. Inv.*

Approved: R  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

FBI

Date: 1/26/62

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO (161-1496) (P)

JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN  
SPIALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 08-21-2009 BY 60322 UCLP/PLJ/JN

ReWFO pending report dated 1/23/62.

*[Handwritten initials]* The appointee's security file as maintained by the Office of Security, Dept. of State, on 1/25/62, was reviewed by SA                      and was found to contain no additional pertinent information.

③ - Bureau  
1 - WFOHGF:hrh  
(4)AIRTEL*all destroyed  
2/20/62 msp**CIA + S  
no adatl part  
info*161-1819-34  
NOT RECORDED

12 APR 10 1962

Approved: *[Signature]*  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

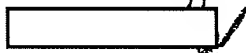
b6  
b7C



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO :



DATE: February 5, 1962

FROM :



SUBJECT:

JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN  
SPECIAL INQUIRY - STATE DEPARTMENT

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
DeLoach	_____
Evans	_____
Malone	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Ingram	_____

b6  
b7C

Request for investigation received from State Department on 1/9/62; position involved not stated other than being considered for Presidential appointment; therefore, copy of summary being furnished also to the White House.

BACKGROUND:

Franklin, aged 47 years, is a prominent Negro educator and author. He is a graduate of Fisk and Harvard universities, receiving his Ph.D. degree from the latter in 1941. Since 1956 he has served as Professor and Chairman of the History Department, Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, New York. Prior thereto, 1947-1956, he served as Professor of History, Howard University, Washington, D. C. He has had periodic leaves of absence since 1947 and has served as visiting professor at numerous colleges and universities in this country and throughout the world.

RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION:

All persons interviewed reported favorable information concerning Franklin. He is generally regarded as an outstanding educator in the field of American History with special interest to the History of the South and the Negro. He has had numerous books and articles published in this reported field of interest. One close associate states that some Negroes have been critical of Franklin's publications as they felt he had not "sufficiently sided with the Negro." Senators Javits (Rep.) and Keating (Rep.) New York are not acquainted with Franklin.

Franklin was interviewed in 1953 and furnished favorable comments in connection with a loyalty-type investigation by the Bureau concerning Edward Franklin Frazier, a close personal and faculty associate at Howard University. It is noted that Franklin has admitted membership in several communist front organizations. Also, reliable informants have advised that Frazier has been affiliated with numerous communist front organizations.

Enclosure *sent 2-5-62*JLB:mr1  
(5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4-30-01 BY 399da3 Fup/jlb  
#925895

161-1819-35  
NOT RECORDED

12 APR 10 1962

Memorandum to [REDACTED]  
RE: JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN

Investigation has disclosed that Franklin's name appeared in records of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (cited as a communist front) in 1947. Franklin was scheduled to speak at a Washington Bookshop Association (designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450) meeting in February, 1948. Franklin was among a group of Negro scholars who reportedly praised a book concerning the history of the Negro in this country by Herbert Aptheker, an admitted Communist Party member. Franklin's name, address and telephone number appeared, among many others, in a pocket directory recovered from the trousers of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The trousers were recovered following a hotel burglary in New York City in September, 1960. "The New York Times" of 3/20/61, names 250 American educators who signed a statement by the American Civil Liberties Union urging the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Franklin's name appeared in this list according to this article. Reliable informants having knowledge of Communist Party activities in the appropriate areas have no knowledge concerning Franklin.

ACTION:

The attached two transmittal letters with enclosed summary memorandum concerning Franklin be furnished to the White House and State Department.

*for Mr. Wren*

*V.*

*[Signature]*

*CHT  
Camp*

*[Signature]*

1 - Mr. Belmont

1 -  
1 -

b6  
b7C

February 5, 1962

BY COURIER SERVICE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 4-30-01 BY 39063 ELW/jer/sls

#925895

The Honorable  
The Secretary of State  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

SEE ATTACHED COPY FOR  
ADV. DISSEMINATION.

b6  
b7C

DA  
VMS

REC'D  
CC 10

VBB 5.5.1962

BA  
VMS

BE  
CC 2

In accordance with the request of [redacted] in a letter dated January 6, 1962, an investigation has been conducted concerning Dr. John Hope Franklin. Transmitted herewith is a summary memorandum containing the results of this investigation, a copy of which is also being furnished to the White House.

REC'D READING ROOM  
REC'D READING ROOM  
FBI

Referral/Direct

Information has been received from three governmental agencies indicating that the checks of their files concerning Dr. Franklin have not been completed.

When these checks are completed, you will be advised.

It is noted that Dr. Franklin has spent several periods overseas in connection with his educational assignments and in behalf of the United States Government. The inquiries which have been conducted by this Bureau do not include investigation outside the United States. The investigation on Dr. Franklin covered inquiries as to his character, loyalty, general standing and ability, but no inquiries were made as to the sources of his income.

Central Intelligence Agency  
State (security)  
Passport Office

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

See cover memo [redacted] to [redacted] 2/5/62, same subject.

JLB:mr1.

b6  
b7C

Enclosure

JLB:mr1 (6)

Tolson  
Belmont  
Mohr  
Callahan  
Conrad  
DeLoach  
Evans  
Malone  
Rosen  
Sullivan  
Tavel  
Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Ingram  
Gandy

ENCLOSURE

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

February 5, 1962

JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN

SUMMARY

1885 NEW YORK AVE.  
BROOKLYN, N.Y.

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Birth

Dr. Franklin was born on January 2, 1915, in Rentiesville, Oklahoma, the son of Buck Colbert Franklin and Mollie Parker Franklin, both of whom are deceased.

Education

He attended Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, from September, 1931, to June, 1935, graduating magna cum laude with an A.B. degree. He was installed as a charter member of Phi Beta Kappa in 1953 at Fisk University.

He was enrolled at Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, between September, 1935, and June, 1939. He received an M.A. degree in June, 1936, and a Ph.D. degree in June, 1941. His field of concentration was history, government and economics, and he held a fellowship during the academic year 1937-1938.

He has been the recipient of honorary degrees from several colleges in the United States.

Employment

1936 to 1937

Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, as an instructor in history.

Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina, Greensboro, North Carolina, as an instructor during summer school.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

1937

JLB:mr1

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ENCLOSURE

INDIA  
GERMANY  
ENGLAND

AUSTRIA

U.S.

D.C.

B

REC'D-READING ROOM

FEB 5 1 44 PM '62

NIGERIA

Handwritten notes and signatures in the bottom right corner.

161-1819-36

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-30-01 BY 3906329/pal/llh

1cc to 2127A  
7/12/62 by Liaison  
Rory

1cc to 71EW  
10/24/63  
per [redacted]  
1cc to 71EW  
10/24/63  
1cc to 71EW  
10/24/63

1 copy to WH by  
Liaison office  
7/21/65

**John Hope Franklin**

**1939 to 1943**

St. Augustine's College, Raleigh, North Carolina, as a professor of history and government. During this period he taught two summer sessions at Alabama State College, Montgomery, Alabama, as an instructor in European history.

**1943 to 1947**

North Carolina College at Durham, Durham, North Carolina, as a professor of history.

**1947 to 1956**

Howard University, Washington, D. C., as a professor of history.

**1956 to present**

Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, New York. He was initially appointed professor of history. He has served since July, 1956, as Chairman of the History Department.

During his tenure at Howard University and Brooklyn College, Dr. Franklin had periodic leaves of absence and was engaged as follows:

**Summers of 1949 and 1955**

North Carolina College at Durham, as a visiting professor.

**Summer of 1950**

Harvard University, as a visiting professor.

**Summers of 1951 and 1958**

Salzburg Seminar, Salzburg, Austria, as a faculty member.

**February, 1953, to June, 1953**

University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, as a visiting professor.

**John Hope Franklin**

**Summer of 1953**

**Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, as a visiting professor.**

**July, 1954, to August, 1954**

**University of Cambridge, Cambridge, England, as a lecturer in history under a Fulbright grant.**

**June, 1956, to July, 1956**

**University of California, Berkeley, California, as a visiting professor.**

**August, 1956, to September, 1956**

**Smith-Mundt Program grant as a specialist in history in Germany.**

**January, 1957, to February, 1957**

**Smith-Mundt Program grant as a specialist in history at Calcutta, India.**

**June, 1959, to July, 1959**

**University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii, as a visiting professor.**

**June, 1960, to August, 1960**

**Australian National University, Canberra, Australia, as a lecturer in history of the United States under a Fulbright grant.**

**September, 1960, to October, 1960**

**University College, Ibadan, Nigeria, as a specialist in history under a Smith-Mundt Program grant.**

## **John Hope Franklin**

Dr. Franklin served as a member of the United States National Commission for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization from May, 1950, to September, 1953.

Dr. Franklin has been the recipient of numerous fellowships and he is or has been a member of the governing boards of various educational institutions and historical organizations. He holds or has held membership in numerous professional organizations.

### **Marital Status**

Dr. Franklin is married to the former Aurelia E. Whittington and they reside with their minor son, [REDACTED] at 1885 New York Avenue, Brooklyn, New York.

## **II. RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION**

### **Interviews**

Theodore S. Currier, Chairman of the Department of History and Government, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, advised that he first met Dr. Franklin in 1931 when Dr. Franklin enrolled as an undergraduate student at Fisk University. He stated that he regards Dr. Franklin as the most outstanding student to have graduated from his department during his tenure at Fisk University. He stated that he has never had occasion to question Dr. Franklin's character, reputation, associates or loyalty. He said that Dr. Franklin is emotionally stable, reliable and highly intelligent.

Dr. Currier advised that Dr. Franklin has recently had published a new book which concerns the reconstruction after the Civil War, and the book is dedicated to Dr. Currier. He related that Dr. Franklin has written a number of excellent historical works and he has been offered a number of excellent positions throughout the years in the